4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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it, the method may have been adopted for the occasion because the mothers know the fussiness of whites in such matters. 863 177

Weaning comes later for the Papago than for most white children. Unaware of her child's exact age at the time, the mother who is questioned about it is likely to laugh and say with a little embarrassment, "He was pretty big." Several instances were found in which the youngest child of a family nursed four or five years, but the older children were weaned at from eighteen to thirty months. A few mothers begin weaning at about a year, but they are a small minority; ordinarily the mother continues nursing well into the next pregnancy. 862

Several weaning methods are used. A few mothers in Baboquivari District said that they simply stopped nursing their babies and let them cry for four to fourteen days until they forgot, but elsewhere on the Reservation this was not the practice.

Mothers usually say they "just stop" nursing and that they have no particular difficulty. When a child begins fussing to nurse, the mother does not deny him straightforwardly but puts forth great effort to draw his attention elsewhere. She cajoles him into playing with his siblings or shows him a man coming on horseback or dogs fighting in the yard. Sometimes she is successful in diverting him, and, after several similar instances, the child does "just stop."

If a mother cannot wean a child by this process, she has two alternatives. She may leave the child with his grandmother for a time. If the grandmother lives in the same house, the mother goes away; if not, the child is taken to the grandmother. The weaning is not accomplished at one fell swoop; the baby is left for only a couple of hours at first and eventually overnight. His relationship with a grandmother is always cordial and going to see her is a pleasure, hence this weaning method, like the preceding one, is a relatively painless one. The child seldom gives any trouble for a grandmother; he seems to forget all about nursing unless reminded by the sight of his mother. [603]

A few women, usually those who have no mother or mother-in-law at hand to help, put chili on their breasts to discourage the nursers; one application is usually sufficient.

Weaning means that the child begins to sleep apart from his mother, for she no longer needs to nurse him during the night. In the eastern districts a crib may be provided for the baby, but the general custom on the Reservation is for the weaned child to sleep with one or more of his brothers and sisters in the same room with the parents. If there is no room in the bed with the older children, the baby may sleep with either grandparent or almost any other 866 854

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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304 At Anekam most of the middle-aged women and some of the men had their faces tattooed. These facial markings are dark blue in color and not elaborate. Common to both sexes is a thick line under the eyes, passing the outer angle of the eye and continuing parallel to the mouth until it nearly reaches the hair. This is almost becoming, reminding one of the way actors darken the eyelids. Men have besides markings on the forehead, and women, on the chin, have waving parallel lines descending from each corner of the mouth. Tattooing has been discontinued; the marks used to be applied with thorns from the sahuaro, taken from the top of the plant, and the charcoal of greasewood. Its purpose is somewhat doubtful. For men the reasons given were to draw blood from the eye; for women, to avoid getting wrinkles early. Generally women were the operators. After having been tattooed, salt was not eaten for a month.

853 862 A curious case of a woman nursing her two children of different ages came under my observation here. When seated, she had the younger lying on the ground in its primitive cradle with the large detachable shade, while the larger one, a boy of four or five years, was playing about. He would frequently run up to his mother and demand his rights which were never refused. Standing up with a large straw hat on his head he enjoyed the mother's milk usually reserved for children of more tender years. Sometimes children who are able to walk are kept in the cradle.

411 821 The wellnigh universal superstition relating to flint

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

847 If the baby died and the woman wanted another, she buried it near the surface. If she wanted no more, she buried it deep. Women [848] professed to know nothing about means of abortion saying that there was little need for them, since an unmarried mother suffered no stigma. Deformed babies and those born by "light women" who did not want the burden were dropped in an arroyo to die of [843] exposure. It was considered that a woman who had a husband and did not bear children would soon die herself of the unnatural condition.

845 Twins were considered to be born shamans. People regarded 756 both them and their parents with some awe, since whatever they said would come true. Thus, if they said a certain person would die, he would: if they called him ugly, swollen, lame, he would become so. Therefore everybody made offerings to twins (the word used is the same as that for offerings made at a shrine). Their parents did the same. Anyone who rebuked a twin suffered. One informant slapped the cheek of a twin who annoyed her while gambling and immediately her arm swelled. She went to the twin for relief, bringing a gift. The child wet her fingertips in her mouth and touched the arm which immediately healed.

This power of twins did not persist beyond childhood unless they had dreams and became shamans in the regular way. However, they usually did so and were much more likely to dream than the average person. If one twin died, the other died also.

CHILDHOOD

[862] Babies were nursed until they were two and three years old. 753 One informant said, "My babies died. It was because they came 853 too fast. When there was a new one coming, there was not milk for the old one" (26). The cause of most infant complaints was supposed to be the fact that the fontanelle did not close properly. A shaman or an old women who had dream power inserted a finger in the child's mouth and pushed on the palate. This was thought to push up the [757] whole top of the head and close the fontanelle. Diarrhoea was treated with the vapor of canyon ragweed. The leaves were wet and a hot cloth laid over them, then the infant was set on the cloth in the vapor. Children's fevers were thought to be due to the hot breath of a dog. They and other diseases were treated in the regular way by the shaman.

854 The child was carried on the cradleboard until it was able to walk. Mothers, on their long expeditions to fetch food and water, placed the cradleboard on top of the other contents of the carrying basket and while they worked, stood it against a tree. When the

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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est whimper brings her to him immediately, to talk to him or pick him up. 854
Often she will place him on his back across her knees and pat his chest with a slow regular beat, letting her lower arm fall as a dead weight on him. The stroke is heavy enough to expel the air from his lungs, but he seems to like it. If he persists in crying when she or someone else attends him, the mother eventually quiets him by nursing.

Papago babies are nursed whenever they cry from hunger or when they 853
can be quieted in no other way. Feeding is irregular; the child is usually nursed before bedtime (but this hour varies from day to day), and ordinarily once during the night, oftener if he awakens. Breast feeding is the almost invariable rule.[5]

If he is awake at the family mealtime, the infant sits on his mother's lap at 853
the table. At about six months, when he begins to notice the food in the dishes 862
and perhaps fuss for it, his mother will feed him broth or juices of the food on the table, or perhaps coffee, offering it to him with a spoon. Later he is given bits of mashed beans or potatoes by spoon, and little pieces of tortilla or a section of an orange to chew. At fourteen or sixteen months he is still nursing, but he is also taking regularly most of the solid foods served to the family.

Though still sitting on his mother's lap, the baby begins holding his own spoon at about two years. If he fails to satisfy his hunger, the mother feeds him more when her meal is finished. Since highchairs are not used, the child sits alone only when he is big enough to reach the table from an ordinary bench.

THE YOUNG CHILD'S DEVELOPMENT

From the time he is born until he begins walking, the Papago baby spends 854
almost all his time in his hammock, on a bed, or in someone's arms. Conse- 856
quently, he has little freedom for experimenting with the use of his legs. Some babies crawl on hands and knees, and others begin to walk on all fours with legs straightened. Usually, the baby learns to stand by pulling himself up on boxes or furniture and begins to walk after going through a short crawling stage.

Apparently this occurs between fourteen and twenty-two months, but this 856
is only a rough estimate. Many mothers say, "He walked at about the right time"; but this means little because their judgment is based on the child's size and strength rather than on age. Most mothers say that they do not try to teach their children to walk, that the babies "just do it." It is true that there is no urgent or even systematic coaxing, but many mothers amuse themselves

5. The investigator heard of only two instances of bottle feeding in Hickiwan District, both for supplementary feeding, and one of these was at the suggestion of the white teacher.